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I.—*An examination of the PÁLI BUDDHISTICAL ANNALS, No. 2. By the Hon'ble GEORGE TURNOUR, Esq. Ceylon Civil Service.*

[Continued from page 527.]

IN the introductory remarks on the FIRST CONVOCATION, submitted in my preceding contribution, I have stated, collectively, all that I purpose to offer, explanatory of the general history of the THREE GREAT BUDDHISTICAL CONVOCATIONS, held in India, as deduced from the data found in *Buddhistical Páli Annals*. I should have forwarded, therefore, on the present occasion, the account of the SECOND and THIRD CONVOCATIONS, without further comment, had it not furnished two dates, recorded, both circumstantially and specifically, with peculiar distinctness, which dates are pointedly at variance, in their results, with the chronological evidence, afforded in European literature connected with that particular period of Asiatic history.

The first of these dates is that of the SECOND CONVOCATION, which, as already stated, was held at the completion of the first century after the death of SÁKYA, or before the birth of Christ 443; and the other, that of the THIRD CONVOCATION, which was held before Christ 308 in the 17th year of ASOKO'S reign, falling respectively to the dates of the Buddhistical era, 100 and 235.

As it is between these two epochs that the invasion of India by ALEXANDER the Great, and the embassy of MEGASTHENES to the court of SANDRACOTTUS at *Palibothra*, took place, which are considered to constitute the earliest and the best authenticated links connecting the histories of the west and the east, it is reasonable to expect that European criticism will be, at once, and specially, directed to the examination of these particular portions of the Buddhistical annals, with

the view to testing their authenticity by the extent of their accordance with the chronology of the western authorities. I am induced, therefore, to recur here to some of the observations offered, on this question, in my introduction to the *Maháwanso*, the probable limited publicity of which work is not likely to diffuse those remarks throughout that more extended sphere in which the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society circulates.

The chronological data contained in the *Atthakathá* on the *Pitakattaya*, and in the *Maháwanso*, connected with the history both of India and of *Ceylon*, exhibit, respectively, in a tabular form, the following results.

Indian Table.

	Accession of each king. Reign.				
	B.	C.	B.		
	years.				
Bimbisáro,	603	60	52	{	
					Sákya attained Buddhohood in the 16th year of this reign.
Ajátasatto,	551	8	32	{	
					Sákya died and the first convocation was held in the 8th year of this reign. The former event constitutes the Buddhistical epoch.
				A. B.	
Udáyibhaddako,	519	24	16		
Anuraddhako,	}	503	40	8	Collectively.
Munḍho,					
Nágadásako,	495	48	24		
Susunágo,	471	72	18		
Kálásóko,	453	90 ^{er}	28	{	
					The second convocation held in the 10th of this reign.
Nandos,	425	118	22	Collectively.	
Nandos,	403	140	22	Individually.	
Chandagutto,	381	162	34		
Binduséro,	347	196	28		
Asoko,	319	224	37	{	
					This monarch's <i>inauguration</i> took place in A. B. 218, four years after his <i>accession</i> , which shews an anachronism in this table of 10 years at his <i>accession</i> . The third convocation was held in the 17th year after his <i>inauguration</i> .

Ceylonese Table.

No.	Name.	Capital.	Accession.	Reign.	Relationship of each succeeding sovereign.	
			B. C.	Bud. years.		
1.	Wijayo,	Tambapanni,	543	1	38	{
2.	Upatisso,	Upatisa,...	505	38	1	
3.	Panduwáso,	Ditto,	504	39	30	{
4.	Abhayo,	Ditto,	474	69	20	

Interregnum,.....	454	89	17			
5. Pandukābhayo,..	Anurādhapura,	437	106	70	} Maternal grandson of Panduwāso.	
6. Muṭasiwo,	Ditto,	367	176	60		} Paternal grandson. Second son.
7. Dewānanpiyatisso,	Ditto,	307	236	40		
<i>Mahanago</i>	<i>Māgamo</i>				} <i>Brother who found- ed the southern principality of Rohano.</i>	
<i>Yatālatisso</i> ,	<i>Kalyānia</i> ,					} <i>Subordinate and contemporaryrājas.</i>
<i>Goṭābhayo</i> ,	<i>Māgamo</i> ,					
<i>Kalyāni-iisso</i> , ..	<i>Kalyānia</i> ,					
<i>Kākawannatisso</i> ,	<i>Māgamo</i> ,.....					
8. Uttiyo,	Anurādhapura,	267	276	10	Fourth son of Mutasiwo.	
9. Mahāsiwo,.....	Ditto,	257	286	10	Fifth ditto.	
10. Sūratisso,	Ditto,	247	296	10	Sixth do., put to death.	
11. Séno and Guttiko,	Ditto,	237	306	22	} Foreign usurpers, put to death.	
12. Asélo,.....	Ditto,	215	328	10		} Ninth son of Muṭasiwo, deposed.
13. Eláro,.....	Ditto,	205	338	44	} Foreign usurper, killed in battle.	
14. Duṭṭhagāmani, ..	Ditto,	165	382	24		Son of <i>Kākawannatisso</i> .

Within the period comprehended in the above tables, there are four specific dates given in the Indian history, and two in the Ceylonese history, all computed from the epoch of the death of SÁKYA which occurred (as already stated) in the year B. C. 543, and which constitutes the Buddhistical era.

The four *Indian* dates are :

1st. SÁKYA attaining Buddhohood in the 16th year of the reign of BIMBISÁRO, B. C. 588.

2nd. * SÁKYA's death (in the 80th year of his age and the 45th of his Buddhohood) in the 8th of the reign of AJÁTASATTO, in which year also, the first convocation was held, B. C. 543.

3rd. † The second convocation held 100 years after the death of SÁKYA, in the 10th year of KÁLÁSO'KO's reign, B. C. 443.

4th. ‡ The inauguration of ASOKO in the 218th year of SÁKYA's death, at the close of the 4th year after this monarch's accession, B. C. 324.

The two *Ceylonese* dates are :

1st. § The landing of WIJAYO in *Ceylon* on the day that SÁKYA expired, B. C. 543.

2nd. || The arrival of the Buddhistical mission under MAHINDO in

* Vide Chap. II. of the *Mahāwanso*. † Vide Chap. III. of ditto.

‡ Vide Chap. V. of ditto. § Vide Chap. VII. of ditto.

|| I am by no means confident that I may not be in error in computing this term from the *inauguration* of ASOKO in A. B. 218, instead of his *accession* four years earlier, in A. B. 214.

Ceylon in the 236th year after SÁKYA, being the first of the reign of DEWA'NANPIYATISSO, and the 18th of that of ASOKO, B. C. 307.

All these dates, specific as well as relative, excepting the computed one of the accession of ASOKO, (which alone admits of correction on the plea of a clerical error, to the extent of ten years, in the reign of CHANDAGUTTO) adapt themselves with so much precision to the several epochs they are designed to indicate, that I conceive it would amount to a positive infatuation for any advocate of the cause of Buddhistical literature, to venture to disturb their adjustment on any of the various pleas, of mistranslation, mistranscription, or misapprehension of the writer's meaning; on which it is but too often the practice to attempt to correct chronological data contained in Indian historical records of remote antiquity.

It appears to me to be impossible for any unbiassed examiner of these records, to follow up the links of this well connected chain of chronological evidence, and arrive at the specific date, assigned to the inauguration of ASOKO, of A. B. 218, occurring at the close of the 4th year after that monarch's accession, without acknowledging that that date is *designedly* a cardinal point in the history, in which it holds so conspicuous a place.

The date of the accession of ASOKO, four years antecedent to his inauguration, being thus distinctly fixed to be A. B. 214 or B. C. 329 on Buddhistical evidence, if that evidence is to be sustained, the invasion of ALEXANDER must, as the necessary consequence, be considered to have taken place in the early part of the reign of ASOKO, and not during the commotions which preceded the usurpation of the Indian empire, by his grandfather SANDRACOTTUS; and the embassy of MEGASTHENES and the treaty of SELEUCUS must also necessarily fall to a more subsequent period of the reign of ASOKO, instead of their occurring during the rule of SANDRACOTTUS.

Averse as I equally am, either to suggest or to adopt theoretical and hypothetical views connected with oriental research, I must, in candour, admit myself to be persuaded of the correctness of the conclusions which identifies SANDRACOTTUS with CHANDAGUTTO; and by my adherence to that persuasion, I am necessarily compelled to acknowledge that there is a discrepance of about 68 years between the western and the Buddhistical chronologies, at the particular point at which this identity takes place.

It is not, however, my intention, nor am I qualified, to analyze the two chains of data, and to balance the weight of the evidence each affords, for the purpose of deciding which of the two preponderates, and indeed once for all, I cannot be too explicit in avowing that the

service in which I have been employed has afforded me neither the leisure, nor the access to the means, that would admit of my prosecuting a comprehensive literary research. The sole object I have in view at present is to collect and arrange matter for the subsequent consideration of competent parties; and if in the progress of this humble task, I occasionally enter upon a critical examination of those materials, I wish those observations to be regarded rather as indexes to the repositories from whence collateral information has been drawn, or indications of the points which demand further inquiry, than as opinions in themselves entitled to weight, and advanced with the view to invite criticism.

In this spirit, and in the prosecution of this design, I proceed to offer the following remarks as explanatory of the grounds on which I am disposed to consider, that the error of the above discrepancy was *designedly* committed by the early compilers of these Buddhistical annals, partly in India, and partly in *Ceylon*, for the purpose of working out certain pretended prophecies hereafter noticed.

In the first place, these minutely adjusted dates are to be found only in BUDDHAGHOSO'S *Páli* version of the *Atthakathá*, and in the *Maháwanso*; the latter history being avowedly compiled from the *Singhalese Atthakathá*, from which BUDDHAGHOSO translated his version also of the sacred commentaries into *Páli*; making a pilgrimage from India (where those *Atthakathá* were, it is said, no longer extant) to *Ceylon* for the express purpose of accomplishing that task. Both works, therefore are derived from the same source, viz. the *Atthakathá* brought from India by MAHINDO in B. C. 307, and promulgated by him in *Ceylon* in the native language.

In the second place, these dates are called forth, for the purpose of showing that certain pretended prophecies of SÁKYA and his disciples, all tending directly or indirectly to invest the Indian emperor ASOKO, the heirarch MOGGALIPUTTATISSO, and the island of *Ceylon* with special importance, as the predicted agents by whom, and the predicted theatre in which, Buddhism should attain great celebrity, were actually realized. In the third place, *no mention whatever is made of these prophecies in those parts of the text of the Pitakattaya* in which the other revelations of SÁKYA himself, are recorded; and where indeed, until a recent discussion raised by me, the heads of the Buddhistical church in *Kandy* believed they were to be found.

The first of those prophecies refers to *Ceylon* and is given in the first sentence of the 7th and the last of the 6th chapter of the *Maháwanso*.

“The ruler of the world (SÁKYA) having conferred blessings on the whole world, and attained the exalted, unchangeable ‘*nibbána*;' seated on the throne,

on which 'nibbána' is achieved, in the midst of a great assembly of Déwatas, the great divine sage addressed this celebrated injunction of *SAKKO, who stood near him: one WIJAYO, the son of SÍHABA'HU, king of the land of Lála, together with seven hundred officers of state, has landed on Lanká. Lord of Déwos! My religion will be established in Lanká, on that account thoroughly protect, together with his retinue, him and Lanká!

"This prince named WIJAYO, who had then attained the wisdom of experience landed in the division *Tambapanni* of this land of Lanká, on the day that the succession (of former Buddhos) reclined in the arbour of the two delightful sal trees, to attain 'nibbánan.'"

This revelation or injunction, the object and effect of which are to fix the same day for the date of the death of SÁKYA and the landing of WIJAYO, is not only not to be found in the *Parinibbána-suttan*, where, if any where, it ought to be recorded, but is omitted even in BUDDHAGHOSO'S *Páli Atthakathá* on that portion of the Buddhistical scriptures; nor have the priesthood been yet able to refer me to any other section of the Páli sacred commentaries where it is to be met with. We shall probably find that this is one of the numerous passages of the historical portion of the ancient *Singhalese Atthakathá* which BUDDHAGHOSO excluded from his Páli version. I shall have to advert to these omissions of historical data, in a future notice of the genealogy of Indian kings.

The second prophecy is thus introduced in the 17th chapter of the *Maháwanso*, propounded by the théro MAHINDO, in the account of the arrival and enshrinement in *Ceylon*, in the reign of the Ceylonese monarch DEWÁNANPIYATISSO, of certain corporal relics of SÁKYA obtained from India.

"While seated on the throne on which he attained '*parinibbánan*,' these five resolves were formed by the vanquisher endowed with five means of perception.

"Let the right branch of the great bo tree, when ASOKO is in the act of removing it, severing itself from the main tree, become planted in the vase (prepared for it).

"Let the said branch so planted, delighting by its fruit and foliage, glitter with its six variegated colors in every direction.

"Let that enchanting branch, together with its golden vase, rising up in the air, remain invisible for seven days in the womb of the snowy region of the skies.

"Let a two-fold miracle be performed at *Thúpáramaya* (at which) my right collar-bone is to be enshrined.

"In the *Hémawátako dágoba*† (Ruwanwelli) the jewel which decorates Lanká, there will be a '*dróna*' full of my relics. Let them, assuming my form as Buddho and rising up and remaining poised in the air, perform a two-fold miracle.

* Indra.

† These dágobas are now in ruins, at *Anurádhapura*. The account of their construction will be found in the *Maháwanso*.

“The successor of former Buddhos (silently) willed these five resolves: on that account, in this instance, this relic performed this miracle of two opposite results.

“Descending from the skies (the collar-bone relic) placed itself on the crown of the monarch’s head. The delighted sovereign deposited it in the shrine. At the enshrining of the relic in the dāgoba (on the full moon day of the month of Kattika) a terrific earthquake was produced making the hair (of the spectators) to stand on end.

* ‘Thus the Buddhos are incomprehensible: their doctrines are incomprehensible: and (the magnitude of the fruits of faith, to those who have faith in these incomprehensibles, is also incomprehensible.)’

“Witnessing this miracle the people were converted to the faith of the vanquisher. The younger brother of the king, the royal prince MATTA’BHAYO, being also a convert to the faith of the lord of ‘*Munis* ;’ entreating of the lord of men (the king) for permission, together with a thousand persons, was ordained a minister of that religion.”

This prediction is to be found in BUDDHAGHOSO’S *Atthakatha* on the *Parinibbāna-suttan*.

The third prophecy is given in the following words in the 5th chapter of the *Mahāwanso*, as enunciated by the théros who held the SECOND CONVOCATION in B. C. 443, predictive of MOGGALIPUTTATISSO being destined to preside at the THIRD CONVOCATION, to be held for the suppression of a calamity which was to occur in 118 years from that date. This revelation also is recorded in BUDDHAGHOSO’S *Atthakatha*.

“The théros who held the SECOND CONVOCATION, meditating on the events of futurity, foresaw that a calamity would befall their religion during the reign of this sovereign (ASOKO). Searching the whole world for him who would subdue this calamity, they perceived that it was the long-lived TISSO, the bráhmaṇ (of the Bráhmaṇaloka world). Repairing to him, they supplicated of the great sage to be born among men for the removal of this calamity. He, willing to be made the instrument for the glorification of religion, gave his consent unto them. These ministers of religion then thus addressed SIGGAWO and CHANDAWO, two adult priests. In eighteen, plus one, hundred years hence, a calamity will befall our religion, which we shall not ourselves witness. Ye (though) priests failed to attend on the occasion (of holding the SECOND CONVOCATION on religion); on that account, it is meet to award penalties unto you. Let this be your penance. The bráhmaṇ TISSO, a great sage, for the glorification of our religion, will be conceived in a certain womb in the house of the bráhmaṇ MOGGALI. At the proper age, one of you must initiate that noble youth into the priesthood. (The other) must fully instruct him in the doctrines of the supreme Buddha !”

On an attentive examination of the foregoing Ceylonese table, and of the historical details furnished in the *Mahāwanso*, the following grounds suggest themselves to my mind for distrusting the correctness

* A quotation from the sacred commentaries.

of the date assigned for the landing of WIJAYO: and for considering it a fiction.

1st. The improbable coincidence of its occurrence on the precise day that SÁKYA died.

2nd. The aggregate period comprised in the 236 years from the landing of WIJAYO to the accession of DEWÁNANPIYATISSO is apportioned for the most part on a scale of decimation, among the six rájas who preceded DEWÁNANPIYATISSO.

3rd. One of these six rájas, PANDUKÁBHAYO, according to the *Maháwanso*, married at 20 years of age; he dethroned, when he was 37 years old, his uncle ABHAYO; and reigned thereafter 70 years. He must therefore have been 107 years old when he died, having been married 87 years: and yet the issue of that marriage MUTASIWO succeeded him, and reigned 60 years!

It is obvious, therefore, if the foregoing numerical succession of rájas be correct, that as regards the personal history of the two kings last named, their portion of the whole term of 236 years, which is represented to have intervened between the landing of WIJAYO and the accession of DEWÁNANPIYATISSO, is inadequately filled up by the historical incidents furnished by the *Maháwanso*; and that a curtailment of at least 60 years is required to adjust the narrative to any admissible duration of human existence.

Before, however, any conjecture can be afforded as to whether that curtailment should be effected by bringing forward the landing of WIJAYO, or throwing back the accession of DEWÁNANPIYATISSO, it will be requisite to examine the ensuing portion of the Ceylonese table; for the purpose of ascertaining whether that portion also of the Ceylonese history exhibits any chronological incongruity; and if it does, whether the incongruity demands dilation or contraction for the adjustment of its chronology.

It will there be found that four of DEWÁNANPIYATISSO's brothers, severally, succeeded to the monarchy, and each of them also reigned a term of precisely ten years. Between the accessions of the third and fourth brothers, SU'RATISSO and ASELO, two foreigners named SENO and GUTTIKO usurped the throne, and retained their power for 22 years. ASELO put these usurpers to death, and after his decennial rule, ELÁRO invading *Ceylon* from the *Chola* country deposed ASELO.

Now this ASELO is stated to be the ninth son of the above mentioned MUTASIWO, who enjoyed a long reign of 60 years, after succeeding his father PANDUKÁBHAYO, who at *his* demise, as noticed above, had been married to MUTASIWO's mother for 87 years. As MUTASIWO is not represented to be a minor, supposing him to have only attained

twenty, at his accession, his age, at the time of his death, according to the foregoing data, is left to vary from 80 to 147, as he may have been born in the first, or the sixty-seventh year after his parents' marriage. Whether MUTASIWO died at the age of 80 or 147, from the date of his demise to the accession of his ninth son ASELO, (even supposing him to be a reputed posthumous child of the venerable MUTASIWO) as a period of 90 years had elapsed, he must have been upwards of 90 years old when he commenced a turbulent reign by dethroning and putting to death two foreign usurpers; and closed it when he was past his 100th year, by being himself dethroned and put to death by ELÁRO, the first Cholian conqueror of *Ceylon*. That usurper reigned for 44 years when he was killed in battle by DUTTHAGÁMINI in B. C. 161, from which date, the authenticity of the chronology of the *Maháwanso* is not only free from all apparent discrepancy, but admits of corroboration by collateral evidence.

It will I think, from the foregoing remarks, be admitted, that the portion of Ceylonese history subsequent to the reign of DEWÁNANPIYATISSO, and down to DUTTHAGÁMINI, is also defective, and that either we must have more *dramatis personæ* to fill up the historical *tableau* exhibited in the *Maháwanso* between the years B. C. 543 and B. C. 161, or we must contract the duration of the term allotted to the incidents of that early section of the Ceylonese history.

Without going into further hypothetical comments, I venture to assert, after a careful examination of the various annals which I have had the opportunity of consulting, that any inquirer, not a Buddhist bound by his creed to believe in the prophecies before mentioned, will be disposed to decide that it is the chronology and not the general narrative of the history that requires correction.

The smallest amount of curtailment rendered necessary for the adaptation of the preposterous terms assigned to some of the early rulers of *Ceylon*, to an admissible duration of human existence, is about 60 years, between WIJAYO and DEWÁNANPIYATISSO; and a similar amount of retrenchment, between DEWÁNANPIYATISSO and DUTTHAGÁMINI, which would bring down the landing of WIJAYO from B. C. 543 to 423, being a period, (by the double retrenchment) of 120 years; and the accession of DEWÁNANPIYATISSO from B. C. 307 to 247, being a period, (by the second single retrenchment) of 60 years.

The effect which this adjustment has in tending to reconcile the Ceylonese with the European chronology will be noticed, after an examination of the contemporaneous portion of Indian history.

However justifiable it may be to disturb, on these grounds, the date assigned to the landing of WIJAYO, while there is no other

evidence for the support of that date than a pretended prophecy, and while the train of events adduced to sustain that date, incontestibly shows an anachronism, in excess, of 120 years,—I can see no tenable plea on which the correctness of the Buddhistical era founded on the death of SA'KYA in B. C. 542 can be questioned.

There is a chain of uninterrupted evidence in the historical annals of Ceylon from B. C. 161, to the present day, all tending to the confirmation of the authenticity of the date assigned to that era. The inartificial manner, also, in which that chain of evidence is evolved, is so different from the guarded adjustments that take place in the four preceding centuries, that it still further tends to conciliate confidence. It will be seen in the *Maháwanso* that the duration of the reigns of all the kings subsequent to DUTHAGA'MINI are strictly within the bounds of probability; although these terms are seldom stated with such precision as to give the fractional part of the last year in each reign. The absence of this minutæ of chronology must necessarily conduce, in a long line of successions, to an aggregate accumulation of a trifling anachronism. Accordingly when we suddenly come upon a date, recorded to mark the epoch of some great religious schism, or decyphered from some obscure inscription, and we apply that information to the correction of the current narrative, we find, as we ought to find, in the absence of artificial arrangement and falsification of data, accumulations of trivial anachronisms amounting to four, five, and six years, in the long intervals that have elapsed between each of those dates.

And again, when we find that these dates, *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*, adjust themselves *retrospectively* with the year of SA'KYA'S death, and *prospectively* with the present year, A. B. 2380, or A. D. 1837, without deranging (excepting to the limited and necessary extent above noticed) any of that enormous mass of details involved in a history extending over a duration of twenty centuries; it is impossible without rejecting incontrovertible evidence, to question the correctness of the Buddhistical era.

With this conviction, or perhaps it will be called prejudice, strongly impressed on my mind, of the correctness of the date assigned to the Buddhistical era, I look to the details of the three ensuing centuries of the Buddhistical history of India, for the correction of the blots and discrepancies which European criticism will detect and expose in its comparison of the Buddhistical and European dates, assigned to the era of CHANDAGUTTO'S reign; and the consequent inaccuracy of the dates of the SECOND and THIRD CONVOCATIONS.

I have not yet met in Buddhistical records with any prophecy, or

other restraint, dictated either by superstition or imposture, which should have compelled Buddhistical authors to work out their historical narrative so as to bring the 10th year of KÁLA'SOKO to the 100th year of SA'KYA. But some such restraint or motive must doubtless have operated to have led to the manifest distortion of facts, which represents that the SECOND CONVOCATION was held at the close of the 100th year after SÁKYA'S death.

In the ensuing translation it will be seen that no less than eight of the leading members who officiated at the SECOND CONVOCATION "had beheld TATHÁGATO." Supposing them to have been only seven years old, even (the earliest age at which noviciates are admitted), in the year TATHÁGATO died, "these repositories of the whole word of Buddho" must have been 107 years old at the time they took their leading part in the SECOND CONVOCATION. On this point, however, the *Maháwanso* contains very specific information. In the 4th chapter in describing that convocation, it is there stated :

"SABBAKA'MI was at that time high priest of the world, and had already attained a standing of one hundred and twenty years in the ordination of 'Upasampada' SABBAKA'MI, SALHO, REWATO, KUJJASOBHITO, YASSO, the son of KA'KONDAKO and SAMBUSO, a native of *Sána* : these six théros were the disciples of the théro A'NANDO. WA'SABHAGA'MIKO and SUMANO, these two théros were the disciples of the théro ANURADHO ; these eight pious priests, in aforetime, had seen the deity who was the successor of former Buddhos.

"The priests who had assembled were twelve hundred thousand. Of all these priests, the théro REWATO was at that time the leader."

As the "Upasampada" ordination could not be obtained, even in the early ages of Buddhism, under the age of 20, it follows as a necessary consequence, if the authenticity of this history is to be admitted, that this hierarch was 140 years old when he presided over this convocation. No person surely will dispute the justice of my questioning the correctness of this chronology ; or take upon himself to deny that the correction of the anachronism here pointed out demands a curtailment of at least 60 years.

I am perfectly aware that in suggesting this inevitable retrenchment of 60 years, I *pro tanto* increase and indeed, precisely double the amount of the pre-existing anachronism as to the European date of the reign of SANDRACOTTUS. All, therefore, that I am entitled to deduce from this anachronism is that there is an undeniable and intentional perversion of historical data in the first century of the Buddhistical era. Whether this perversion can be corrected, either directly or inferentially, from other sources, is a question which those orientalists alone can answer, who have other collateral data on which they can rest their arguments.

From the date however of the SECOND CONVOCATION in the 10th year of KA'LA'SOKO's reign, a pretended prophecy already quoted, *does* occur to fetter Buddhist annalists, and compel them to make the 218th year of SA'KYA, fall to the 4th of the reign of ASOKO.

If without reference to any of these prophetic dates, or historical predictions, we follow the narrative history of the Buddhist patriarchs, and which is termed "the sacerdotal succession," we shall find ample justification for throwing equal discredit on the dates of both convocations. In that narrative will be found a consecutive and detailed account of no less than "six generations of preceptors" having intervened from the death of SA'KYA to the meeting of the THIRD CONVOCATION; comprising a period of 235 years, and affording an average of about 39 years for each preceptor. SABBAKÁMI, a member of the first generation, is represented to have presided over the SECOND CONVOCATION, and MOGGALIPUTTATISSO, a member of the sixth generation, over the THIRD CONVOCATION. Had we no other dates given to us, than those of the death of SA'KYA, and of the THIRD CONVOCATION, we should, dealing with averages, place the SECOND CONVOCATION over which SABBAKÁMI presided within 39 years after SA'KYA's death, and in that case the sentence "these eight pious priests in aforetime had seen the deity who was the successor of former Buddhos," instead of being a glaring absurdity would have amounted to an obvious probability. But the unfortunate imposture, emanating apparently in MOGGALIPUTTATISSO, which asserted that SABBAKÁMI had said in the SECOND CONVOCATION, "In eighteen, plus one, hundred years hence, a calamity will befall our religion which we shall not ourselves witness," in reference to the schism that MOGGALIPUTTATISSO suppressed in the reign of ASOKO, has led to these fatal, and at the same time clumsy distortions of historical and chronological data, by Buddhist authors. By placing the SECOND CONVOCATION over which SABBAKÁMI presided in the 100th year, they are obliged to assign to him the age of 140 years, and to make it appear also that the age of the first generation of preceptors had not then passed away. And at the time the THIRD CONVOCATION was held, only 135 years after the SECOND, MOGGALIPUTTATISSO, who presided over it, is represented in the ensuing extract to be of the six generations of preceptors and "an aged person." The *Maháwanso* mentions with greater distinctness that "in the seventeenth year of the reign of this king (ASOKO) this all-perfect minister of religion (MOGGALIPUTTATISSO) aged *seventy-two* years, conducted with the utmost perfection this great convocation on religion." We are in short, on the one hand, told that at the end of the first century some of the preceptors of the first generation were alive,

and, on the other, that only 135 years thereafter, the head of the church was of the sixth generation, and at that time of the advanced age of seventy-two years.

It is not possible, therefore, to recognize the correctness of any of these dates, which are based on pretended prophecies, and in rejecting them as fictitious we are reduced to the necessity of adjusting the events comprised in these three centuries by two points only, on which alone any reliance can be placed, viz: the Buddhist era of SA'KYA'S death, B. C. 543, and the European age of SANDRACOTTUS, (about) B. C. 325. If (as is stated) SANDRACOTTUS reigned *34 years, his son BINDUSA'RO 28 years, and the THIRD CONVOCATION was held in the 17th year of ASOKO'S inauguration and 21st of his reign, we shall have to place the THIRD CONVOCATION in B. C. 242 instead of B. C. 307, which (as the 18th of ASOKO falls to the 1st of the Ceylonese monarch DEWA NANPIYATISSO) would accord with the preceding adjustment of the Ceylonese chronology within the trifling amount of six years.

Although the general result of this adjustment only produces an alteration in the Buddhistical chronology of this period amounting to 65 years, still it is one calculated to occasion an extensive derangement in the foregoing table, from the very circumstance of its assumed claim to minute accuracy.

I do not despair, however, of seeing these discrepancies accounted for in due course of time. We know that the Bráhmínical authorities arrange the Mághada line of succession differently from the Buddhistical. There is evidently some confusion in the durations assigned to the reigns of the ten NANDOS. But whenever, or by whatever means, the adjustments are made, they must be made, to the limited extent of the above anachronism, in direct defiance of the Buddhistical authorities extant in *Ceylon*; and by hitting blots, and detecting inaccuracies which have inadvertently escaped the notice of the pious impostors who have spared no pains in endeavouring to interweave the prophetic and falsified chronology of India and of *Ceylon* into each other.

As an illustration of their ingenuity, I give the following extract from another part of BUDDHAGHOSO'S *Atthakathá*.

“In the †eighteenth year of the reign of AJA'TASATTO, the supreme BUDDHO attained *Parinibbánan*. In that very year, prince WIJAYO, the son of prince SI'HO, and the first monarch of *Tambapanni*, repairing to this Island, rendered

* I am disposed to adopt the reading of the last extract of the *Atthakathá* which makes this term “twenty-four years.”

† This appears to be a clerical error for eight.

it habitable for human beings. In the fourteenth year of the reign of UDA'YABHADO, in *Jambudīpo*, WIJAYO died here. In the fifteenth year of the reign of UDA'YABHADO, PANDUWA'SADEWO came to the throne in this island. In the twentieth year of the reign of NA'GADA'SO there, PANDUWA'SADEWO died here. In the same year, ABHAYO succeeded to the kingdom. In the seventeenth year of the reign of SUSUNA'GO there, twenty years of the reign of ABHAYO had been completed; and then, in the said twentieth year of ABHAYO, the traitor PANDUKA'BHAYO usurped the kingdom. In the sixteenth year of the reign of KA'LA'SOKO there, the seventeenth year of PANDUKA'BHAYO'S reign had elapsed here. The foregoing (years) together with this one year, will make the eighteenth (of his reign). In the fourteenth year of the reign of CHANDAGUTTO, PANDUKA'BHAYO died here; and MUTASIWO succeeded to the kingdom. In the seventeenth year of the reign of DHAMMASOKO rāja, MUTASIWO rāja died, and DEWA'NANPIYATISSO rāja succeeded to the kingdom.

“ From the *Parinibbānan* of the Supreme *Buddho*, AJA'TASATTO reigned twenty-four years. UDA'YABHADO, sixteen; ANURUDDHO and MUNDHO, eighteen. NA'GADA'SAKO, twenty-four SUSUNA'GO, eighteen years. His son KA'LA'SOKO, twenty-eight years. The ten sons of KA'LA'SOKO reigned twenty-two years. Subsequently to them, NAWANANDO reigned twenty-two years. *CHANDAGUTTO, twenty-four years. BINDUSA'RO, twenty-eight years. At his demise ASOKO succeeded, and in the eighteenth year after his inauguration, MAHINDO théro arrived in this island. This royal narration is to be thus understood.”

The fictitious synochronisms attempted to be established in this extract, between the chronology of India and of *Ceylon*, are, it will be observed, most successfully made out. The discrepancies as to the year of AJA'TASATTO'S reign, in which SA'KYA died; as to the comparison between KA'LA'SOKO and PANDUKA'BHAYO, and as to the duration of the joint rule of ANURUDDHO and MUNDHO, as well as that of CHANDAGUTTO, all manifestly proceed from clerical errors of the transcribers; as will be seen by the following juxta-positions.

	A. B.		A. B.
18th of Ajátasatto,	1	Buddho died and Wijayo landed in <i>Ceylon</i> ,	1
14th of Udáyabhaddako,	38	Last of Wijayo,	38
15th of Ditto,	39	First of Pandewáso,	39
20th of Nágadáso,	68	Last of ditto,	69
17th of Susunágo,	89	20th of Abhayo,	89
16th of Kálásoko,	106	17th of Pandakábhayo,	124
14th of Chandagutto,	176	Last of Ditto,	176
17th of Dhammasoko,	235	Last of Mutasiwo,	236

With these preparatory remarks, the design of which has been already explained, I shall proceed to translate the following passages descriptive of the second and third convocations, taken from the introduction in BUDDHA'GHOSO'S *Atthakathá* on the *Winayo* and *Abhidhammapitako*.

* In a preceding note, I have stated that I consider this date, though an apparent erratum, to be correct.

SECOND CONVOCATION.

It is stated in the account of the FIRST CONVOCATION on the *Winayo* that, in the first place, this question was asked by the venerable MAHA'KASSAPO. "Belo'LI, UPA'LI where was the *Párájikañ* first propounded?" and that after other prescribed interrogatories, he questioned him as to its import, its origin, and as to who the party concerned was.

In the course of that discussion, most fully illustrating (the *Párájikañ*) even from the cause that gave rise thereto, it was set forth by the beloved UPA'LI, who was desirous of explaining every circumstance connected therewith, specifying even by whom it was originated, and by what circumstances it was occasioned, beginning with, "At that period the sanctified BUDDHO was dwelling in *Weranjá*" and the rest that appertained (to the *Párájikañ*).

It must be distinctly understood that this was thus spoken by the beloved UPA'LI at the FIRST CONVOCATION, (it did not originate at the SECOND CONVOCATION). From this quotation alone, it is satisfactorily shewn, by whom and when this was said. If it be asked in this place—Why is this adverted to here?—the answer is, with whatever object that "*Nidánan*" may have been investigated by the venerable MAHA'KASSAPO (at the FIRST CONVOCATION) with the same object in — of thoroughly illustrating that "*Nidánan*"—it is begun now also from the commencement with the words, "It is so said by him (BUDDHO)." Be it understood, however, that when these words were spoken by the beloved UPA'LI even at the FIRST CONVOCATION, it was admitted to be a quotation (BUDDHO not being then alive).

By the foregoing it being sufficiently explained by whom, when, and on what account, (the *Winayo* was first propounded in convocation) the details whereof will be found in the respective *Máttiká*, it now remains for me to afford these further explanations.

1st. By whom it was received* (from *Buddho*).

2dly. By whom it has been handed down.

3rdly. Where it was authenticated.

For the purpose of explaining these points the passage, "At that period the sanctified BUDDHO was dwelling in *Weranjá*—" and other similar passages, of which the *Nidánan* of the *Winayo* is composed, having been quoted, it was duly set forth—by whom it was received, by whom it was handed down and where it was authenticated, beginning from the very commencement, thus: "From the mouth of BHAGAWA' himself, it was received by the venerable UPA'LI; and from his mouth, both before the *Parinibbánan* of TATHA'GATO by many thousands of Bhikkhus who had obtained the six *Abhinná*, and after the *Parinibbánan* of TATHA'GATO, by the théros who had held the (FIRST) CONVOCATION on *Dhammo*, having MAHA'KASSAPO for their chief."

By whom was it handed down?

In *Jambudípo*, commencing first from the théro UPA'LI it was perpetuated, whatever that interval might be, to the period of the THIRD CONVOCATION, through a generation of *A'cháriya*. Hence the appellation of the "*Acháriyan* generation" or generation of preceptors. These were the five victors over sin;

* Literally "upheld" as a burden is sustained which is passed from one person to another, without being set down.

UPA'LI, DA'SAKO, SÓNAKO, SIGGAWO, and TISSAMOGGALIPUTTO who perpetuated the *Winayo*, uninterruptedly from generation to generation, to the THIRD CONVOCATION, in the land celebrated by the name of *Jambudípo*.

The venerable UPA'LI having learned, from the mouth of BHAGAWA himself, this *Winayo*, in its appropriate text (the Páli version) implanted it in the hearts of many. In the fraternity of that venerable personage, from amongst those who having learned the *Winayo*, and acquired a knowledge thereof, those who attained the condition of *Puthujjaná*, *Sótápanna*, *Sakatágámi* and *Anágámi* transcended the limits of enumeration. Of those alone who were sanctified (by arahathood) there were one thousand.

DA'SAKO was a disciple of his fraternity. He having learned the same from the mouth of the said UPA'LI, similarly propounded the *Winayo*. In the fraternity of that venerable person, the *Puthujjaná* and others who, having learned the *Winayo*, had acquired a knowledge thereof, were beyond the limits of computation. The sanctified alone amounted to one thousand.

SÓNAKO was a disciple in the fraternity of DA'SAKO théro. He learned the *Winayo* from the mouth of his preceptor DA'SAKO, in like manner, propagated it. In the fraternity of this venerable personage also, the *Puthujjaná* and others, who, having learned the *Winayo*, acquired a knowledge thereof, were beyond the limits of computation. The sanctified alone amounted to one thousand.

SIGGAWO was a disciple in the fraternity of DA'SAKO théro, and having learned the *Winayo* in the fraternity of that théro, became the chief of a thousand *Arahantá*. In the fraternity of that venerable personage, having learned the *Winayo* he acquired a knowledge thereof, as to the *Puthujjaná*, *Sótápanná*, *Sakatágámi* *Anágámi* and *Arahantá*, there was no computing their number, either in hundreds or in thousands. At that period in *Jambudípo* the number of Bhikkhus was very great. The supernatural gifts of the théro MOGGALIPUTATISSO, will be celebrated in the THIRD CONVOCATION.

Thus this *Winayo-piṭakan*, be it known, has been handed down through these generations of preceptors, from its commencement to the THIRD CONVOCATION. In order to the due understanding of the THIRD CONVOCATION, this connecting narrative should be borne in mind.

The five hundred sanctified and supernaturally gifted théros, who had MAHA'-KASSAPO for their chief, having held the (FIRST) CONVOCATION on *Dhammo*, and caused it to be universally glorified, and having lived the full measure of human existence, released from all human frailties, were extinguished like lamps exhausted of oil.

Thereafter when, in the prescribed rotation of night and day, a hundred years had elapsed from the *Parinibbánan* of BHAGAWA', certain Bhikkhus resident in *Wésáli*, natives of *Wajjí* (decided) as follows :

" * The preservation of salt in horn is allowable."

" † The allowance of two inches is admissible."

* Priests can only keep salt for seven days. The innovation consisted in deciding that if kept in horns, it might be retained for any period.

† Priests should not take substantial food after midday. Here it is allowed till the shadow of the declining sun is two inches long.

“ * Indulgence in the country is allowable.” “ † Ceremonies in (sacerdotal) residences are allowable.” “ ‡ Obtaining subsequent consent is allowable.” “ § Conformity to the example (of preceptors) is allowable.” “ || Acceptance of whey (as distinct from milk) is allowable.” “ ¶ The acceptance of (fermented toddy resembling) water is allowable.” “ ** The use of seats covered with cloths (without fringes) is allowable.” “ †† The acceptance of gold and silver is allowable.” These were the ten indulgences which they put forth.

To these persons, the rája KA'LA'SOKO, the son of SUSUNA'GO, extended his protection.

At that period, the venerable YASSO, the son of KA'KANDAÑO, in the course of his pilgrimage among the inhabitants of *Wajji*, having heard that certain bhikkhus of *Wésáli*, natives of †† *Wajji*, were propagating these ten indulgences, thus meditated. “ Having myself heard of the calamity which is impending over the religion of the deity gifted with ten powers, should I be deficient in my exertions (to avert it) that proceeding would be unbecoming of me: wherefore disgracing these impious (characters), let me glorify *Dhammo*.”

Wherever *Wésáli* might be, thither he proceeded. There the venerable YASSO, the son of KA'KANDAÑO, sojourned in the *Kutágára* hall in the *Mahá-wanno* wiháro at *Wésáli*. On that occasion, the bhikkhus of *Wésáli*, natives of *Wajji*, on the *Upósathá* day in question, filling a golden basin with water, and placing it in the midst of the assembled priests, thus appealed to the devotees of *Wésáli* who attended there. “ Beloved! bestow on the priesthood either a *Kahapanañ*, or half, or a quarter of one, or even the value of a *mása*; to the priesthood, it will afford the means of providing themselves with sacerdotal requisites.” All that occurred (subsequently) up to the meeting of the SECOND CONVOCATION (will be found in the *Sattasatikakandaño*).

There were selected (for the CONVOCATION) seven hundred bhikkhus, neither more nor less. From this circumstance this convocation on the *Winayo* is called also the “ *Sattasatika*” (the convocation of the seven hundred).

At this meeting twelve thousand bhikkhus assembled, brought together by the exertions of the venerable YASSO. In the midst of these, by the interrogation of the venerable RE'WATO, and by the exposition of the *Winayo*, by the théro SAB-BAKA'MI, the ten indulgences being thoroughly inquired into, judgment (of suppression) was finally pronounced.

* That they might partake in the country, what is denied to them at their wiháros; whereas both are forbidden.

† That they might perform certain ceremonies in their residences, which could only be observed in the *Upósathá* hall.

‡ Consent ought always to precede any act connected with religion.

§ No example is admitted as an excuse, if the act itself be forbidden.

|| Whereas whey as a component part of milk is considered to be substantial food, and as such cannot be partaken of after 12 o'clock.

¶ No fermented beverage is admissible.

** No costly cover, whether with or without fringes can be used.

†† All precious metals are prohibited.

‡‡ Present *Allahabad*.

Thereupon the théros deciding "Let us again hold a convocation on *Dhammo* and *Winayo*;" and having selected seven hundred bhikkhus, the maintainers of the three *Pitakáni*, and gifted with the qualification of sanctification; and assembling at the *Wálukárámo* viháro at *Wésáli*, and, in the manner that MAHA'KASSAPO had held the (FIRST) CONVOCA-TION, having purified the whole *Sásanam* of defilements, revised in convocation the whole of *Dhammo* and *Winayo*, according to the several divisions of the *Pitakáni*, called, the *Nikáyo Argo* and *Dham-makkhando*.

This convocation was brought to a close in eight months; and from its having been held by seven hundred bhikkhus, THIS CONVOCA-TION has been universally called the *Sattasatika*; and, taking into account the one held previously, it is also called DUTIYA'SANGITI (the SECOND CONVOCA-TION).

(It is thus recorded in the *Sattasatikakando*). "From amongst those théros by whom THIS CONVOCA-TION was held, the most renowned were, SABBAKA'MI, SALHO, RE'WATO, KHUJJASÓBHITO, YASSO and SAMBH'UTO of *Sána*; they were the disciples of ANANDO; and in aforetime had beheld TA'THAGATO. Be it known, however, that, there were also SUMANO and WA'SABHAGA'MI. These two were the disciples of ANURADHO, and they also in aforetime had seen the TATHA'GATO."

Whosoever the théros might be by whom the second convocation may have been held, the whole of them were individuals of great weight, celebrated by their deeds, and sanctified (by *arahathood*).

This is the SECOND CONVOCA-TION.

The events intervening between the SECOND and THIRD CONVOCA-TIONS are stated in this *Atthakathá* in great detail, particularly in reference to the personal history of MOGGALIPUTTATISSO, by whom the LAST CONVOCA-TION was held. A succinct, but perspicuous, historical account of which period will be found in the 5th chapter of the *Maháwanso*. It will be sufficient for my present purpose to give the names only of the théros, who were the sacerdotal successors to *Upáli*, to whom the *Winayo* division of the *Pitakataya* was entrusted at the FIRST CONVOCA-TION. It has been mentioned in a foregoing paragraph that his pupil and immediate successor was DA'SAKO; and that SÓNAKO was DA'SAKO'S disciple. His two disciples CHANDAWAJJ and SIGGAWO, were adult priests at the termination of the SECOND CONVOCA-TION, which, as already stated, was held at *Wésáli*, at the close of the first century after the death of BUDDHO, being the year before Christ 443.

On them was imposed the task of converting the youth TISSO, the son of the Bráhma-n MOGGALI, who, it was predicted by the priests who held the SECOND CONVOCA-TION, was destined to subdue a calamity that they foretold would befall the religion of BUDDHO, in one hundred eighteen years from that date.

I resume the translation of the *Atthakathá* with these remarks, serving to show the continuity of the sacerdotal succession to a point

at which the circumstances that gave rise to the THIRD CONVOCATION occurred. It is here of importance to notice that the existence of a version of the *Aṭṭhakathá* on the *Piṭakattaya* at that period is specifically mentioned.

The following is the passage I allude to:—

“From the following day, TISSO entered upon the study of the word of BUDDHO. Then becoming a *sámanéro*, and postponing the study of the *Wenagapitákan* (as the most difficult) he acquired the knowledge of all (the rest) of the word of BUDDHO, together with the *Aṭṭhakathá*. From the time of his being ordained *Upasampadá*, continuing to be protected (by SIGGAWO and CHANDAWAGGI) he became master of the (whole) *Piṭakattáya*. The said two persons, the one the preceptor, and the other the ordainer of MOGGALIPUTTATISSO having deposited the whole of the word of BUDDHO in his hands, and lived the ordinary measure of human existence, demised.

“Subsequently thereto, MOGGALIPUTTATISSO, devoting himself to the prescribed course of sanctified meditation, and attaining arahathood, extensively propagated the *Winayo*.

“At this period, the rája BINDUSA’RO had an hundred sons. All these ASOKO destroyed, reserving only prince TISSO, who was born of the same mother with himself. This murderer having reigned a period of four years without celebrating his inauguration, at the close of the fourth year, which was the 218th after the *parinibbánañ* of TATHAGATO, entered upon the supreme sovereignty of all *Jambudípo*, as one united empire. By the preternatural manifestations which attended his inauguration these miracles were wrought.”

These miracles and manifestations will be found in the *Maháwanso*. They would occupy too much space in this article, and are not essential to the continuity of the history of the Buddhistical scriptures.

The *Aṭṭhakathá* proceeds thus:

“This rája for a period of three years from his inauguration, lived out of the pale of Buddhism, an heretic; and in the fourth year became a convert to the word of BUDDHO. His father BINDUSA’RO was of the bráhman faith. He distributed (daily) rice-alms among eight thousand heretics, consisting of bráhmans, and to bráhmanical heretics of the *Pandáránga* and other sects. While ASOKO was continuing to bestow these alms within his palace, in the same manner that it had been conferred by his father, on a certain occasion, while standing at a window, having noticed these persons taking their repast with unbecoming avidity, without regard to decorum, restraint over their appetites and devoid of all decency in manners, thus meditated; ‘Surely it is requisite that alms, such as these, should be conferred with discrimination; and in an appropriate manner also.’

“Having come to this resolution, he thus addressed his courtiers ‘Go, my friends, and each of you fail not to conduct into my palace those fraternities of bráhmans whom you esteem to be pious characters, that I may bestow alms on them.’ These officers replying: ‘Lord! most willingly,’ and conducting to his presence the several *Pandáránga*, *Jiwaká*, *Nigathá* and other devotees, said, ‘These, mahárája, are our arahantá.’

“ Thereupon the rája causing superb seats to be prepared within the palace, said to them, ‘ Proceed ;’ and as they entered, ‘ take (added he) each of you the seat appropriate to yourself ;’ they, without discrimination, (as to seniority, or superiority in sanctity) seated themselves, some on rich seats and others on wooden forms. The rája noticing this procedure, and being convinced that there was no spiritual merit among them, the appropriate repast having been served to them, allowed them to depart.

“ While he was in the observance of this practice, on a certain day, standing at the window, he noticed passing the palace yard, the *Sámanéro* NIGRÓDHO who had overcome, and who kept in subjection and thoroughly controlled, the dominion of the passions : and who was gifted with the most perfect decorum in demeanour. Inquiring ‘ who is this NIGRÓDHO ?’ he was told, he was the son of prince SUMANO, the eldest of the sons of the rája BINDUSA’RO.”

The narrative of the *Atthakathá* then enters into the personal history of NIGRÓDHO, the flight of his mother pregnant of him from *Páttilipura*, on the occasion of his father, and the other sons of BINDUSA’RO, being massacred—his birth, education and admission into Buddhistical ordination, and ultimately NIGRÓDHO’s conversion of his uncle ASOKO, who was then supreme ruler of India, to the Buddhistical faith.

The *Atthakathá* also contains the account of the conversion, and subsequent ordination into priesthood, of TISSO, the younger brother of ASOKO, who had already been elevated to the dignity of “ *Oparáju*” (which would appear to be the recognition of the heir presumptive) as well as of the ordination of prince AGGIBRAHMA’, the husband of ASOKO’S daughter SANGHAMITTA’ ; and finally, that of his son MAHINDO, celebrated for his conversion of *Ceylon*, and of the aforesaid daughter SANGHAMITTA’. For all these details, also, I am compelled, from want of space, to refer to the fifth chapter of the *Maháwanso*, resuming again my translation of the *Atthakathá* from the point at which the incidents which led to the THIRD CONVOCATION being held, are set forth.

While these advantages and honors were conferred on (the Buddhistical) religion, the heretics (*tithayá*) deprived of those advantages and honors, and finally, unable to obtain even food and raiment, out of covetousness of those benefits and distinctions, having assumed Buddhistical ordination, set forth each their own peculiar creeds, saying “ This is *Dhammo*.” “ That is *Winayo*.” Although they were unable to obtain regular ordination, shaving their own heads and clothing themselves in yellow robes, they sauntered about the *wiháros*, and intruded themselves during the performance of the **Upósatho* and †*Pawárana* rites, as well as at the ‡*Sanghakamma* and §*Ganakamma* meetings of the priesthood. With these persons, the *bhikkhus* would not perform the *Upósatho* rites.

* Periodical rites, and ceremonies regulated by the changes of the moon.

† Final and conclusive rites and ceremonies.

‡ A meeting of priests exceeding five in number for religious purposes.

§ A meeting of priests below five in number.

At that crisis, MOGGALIPUTTATISSO théro thus meditated. "Now is this judgment manifested: at no remote period it will grow into a serious calamity, which no person will be able to suppress, who continues to dwell among these persons." Transferring therefore the charge of his fraternity to the théro MAHINDO that he himself might lead a life of seclusive devotion, departed for the **Ahoganga* mountain (mountain beyond the Ganges).

These heretics, although subjected to every degradation, by the bhikkhus, as well as by the *Dhammo*, the *Winayo* and the ordinances of the divine teacher (*Buddho*); and they had utterly failed in attaining the condition prescribed by the *Dhammo* and *Winayo*, nevertheless gave rise to various (calamities, which were like unto) excrescences, defilements, and thorns, unto the religion (of *Buddho*); some of these flocked to the fire (as an object of adoration): others scorched themselves in the manner of the † *Panchatápa* sect: some prostrated themselves towards the sun: others began to declare (openly) "let us destroy your *Dhammo* and *Winayo*." Thereupon the congregation of bhikkhus would not perform either the *Upósatha*, or *Pawárana* rites with them; and suspended for a period of seven years, the performance of the *Upósatha*; continuing however to dwell at the *Asókárámo* wiháro (at *Pátílípura*). This circumstance was reported to the rája, the monarch directed this command to be signified to one of his officers. "Repairing to the ‡ wiháro and suppressing this matter, cause the performance of *Upósatha*, to be re-established." This officer not being able to obtain any further explanation from his sovereign, referring himself to the other officers of state, said, "the rája is dispatching me with this command, 'repairing to the wiháro and suppressing this affair, cause the *Upósatha* to be re-established: in what manner am I to suppress this matter?'" They replied: "We think thus: on any occasion that a (rebellious) province is to be reduced to subjection, the traitors (who raised the rebellion) are put to death. In the same manner, should there be those who refuse to perform the *Upósatha*, the rája must wish that they should be put to death."

Thereupon this minister repairing to the wiháro, and assembling the bhikkhus, thus addressed them: "I am sent by the rája, with this command, 'Cause there the *Upósatha* to be re-established.' Lords! perform, therefore, instantly, the *Upósatha*." The bhikkhus replied: "Together with the heretics we will not perform the *Upósatha*." The minister, commencing from the pulpit of the chief priest, with his sword chopped off the head of each (who successively refused).

The théro, TISSO, observing this officer in the commission of this sacrilegious act, thus thought: "The rája would not send him to slaughter théros: most assuredly this must proceed from the misapprehension of this officer;" and (rushing up) placed himself in the seat of him who had (last) fallen. He (the minister) recognizing the théro (to be the brother of his sovereign) unable to use his weapon, repairing to the rája, thus spoke. "Déwo! I have cut off the heads of such a number of bhikkhus, who were recusant in the performance of

* I have met with this word written *Adúganga Pabbato*, which would signify "the mountain of the subterranean *Ganges*."

† Having four fires around them while the sun is shining, which made the fifth fire.

‡ The *Asókárámo* wiháro at *Pátílípura* named after *Asoko*, by whom it was built, vide *Mahawánso*.

Upósatha; and in due order came to the turn of thy illustrious brother, the théro Tisso: what shall I do?" The rája, the instant he heard this, exclaiming, "Wretch! What? Thou sent by me to slaughter the bhikkhus?" and being answered, "Yes, Déwo!" agonized as if a flame had been engendered in his body! and rushing to the wiháro, he thus addressed the théros and bhikkhus. "Lords! this officer, unauthorized by me, has done this deed: by such (an act) on whom will the sin fall?" Some of the théros observed: "That person committed the act by thy direction: the sin therefore is thine." Others said, "The sin is equal in both of you." Others again thus spoke, "Why, mahárája! was it thy intention that he should go and slaughter the bhikkhus?" "No, lords! I sent him with a pious intention, saying, 'restoring the priesthood to unanimity, re-establish the *Upósatha*.'" "In that case, thy intention being pious, the sin rests with the officer alone." The rája perplexed (by the conflicting answers) inquired, "Lords! is there any bhikkhu, who is capable to restore me to the solace of religion, by removing this perplexity?" "There is, mahárája: his name is MOGGALIPUTTATISSO: he, removing this perplexity of thine, is capable of restoring thee to the solace of religion." On that very day, the rája dispatched four théros, learned in *Dhammo*, each with a retinue of a thousand bhikkhus and four ministers, each with a suite of a thousand persons, saying, "Return bringing the théro." They repairing thither, thus addressed (MOGGALIPUTTATISSO), "The rája calls thee." The théro did not come. For the second time, the rája sent eight théros versed in the *Dhammo*, and eight ministers each with a retinue of a thousand persons, who thus delivered their message: "Lord! the mahárája having desired us to say, 'he calls thee,' added, 'return not without bringing him.'" On the second occasion also, the théro did not come? The rája inquired of them: "Lords! I have sent twice, why does the théro not come." "Mahárája! he refuses to come, because he has been told, 'the rája calls.'" On his being thus invoked he may come: "Lord! religion is sinking: for the salvation of religion render thy aid to us!" Thereupon the rája adopting that message, sent sixteen théros versed in the *Dhammo*, and sixteen ministers each with a retinue of one thousand persons. The rája also inquired of the bhikkhus: "Is the théro an aged, or a young person?" "Lord! (they replied) he is aged." "Lords! will he mount any vehicle, or a state palanquin?" "Mahárája! he will not mount one." "Lords! where does the théro dwell?" "Mahárája! up the river."

The rája then thus addressed his mission: "My men! such being the case, spreading a state canopy over a vessel, and accommodating the théro therein, and stationing guards of honour along both banks of the river, conduct him hither." The bhikkhus and ministers proceeding to the residence of the théro, delivered the message of the rája. On hearing this message the théro instantly rose, taking up the skin carpet (on which he was seated) saying: "From the commencement, my destiny in entering into the priesthood was the salvation of religion: now is my appointed hour arrived."

On a certain night, the rája had this dream. "To-morrow, the théro will reach *Patiliputto*." The dream comprised these particulars—a perfectly white state elephant approaching the rája, and feeling him from head downwards, seized him by the right arm (*dakkimá hatthé*). The following day the rája put this question to his interpreters of dreams. "I have had such a dream: what is to happen?" "Mahárája! there is some pre-eminent personage who will grasp an offering in his hand*."

* This interpretation involves a pun, on the above Pāli words.

At that instant, the rája receiving the report that the théro was coming, repairing to the bank of the river, descended into the stream, till the water gradually rising, reached his knees; and approaching the théro, presented to the disembarking théro his *right arm*. The théro laid hold of his *right arm*. The sabred guards observing this, at once coming to this decision "let us decapitate him," drew their swords out of the scabbard. For what reason did they do this? Because such was the established practice in regard to royal personages. Should any person seize the arm of a rája, his head is brought down with a sword. The rája perceiving this (movement) by the shadow only (which fell by him) exclaimed "on account of an offence committed in a former instance, towards the priesthood, I am already deprived of peace of mind : offend not the théro also."

Why did the théro seize the rája by the arm?

As he had been sent for by the rája for the purpose of solving a (*panhan*) question, on that account, regarding him in the light of a disciple of his, he laid hands on him*.

The monarch establishing the théro in his own pleasure garden, and encircling it on the outside with three rows of guards (gave the order) "Watch over his safety." He then having bathed and anointed the feet of the théro, seated himself near him; and for the purpose of satisfying himself on this point. "Is the théro competent, dispelling my doubts and settling the controversy that has arisen, to save the religion?" thus addressed him: "Lord! I am desirous of seeing a miracle performed." "Mahárája! what description of miracle art thou desirous of witnessing?" "Lord! an earthquake." "Is it, Mahárája! the whole earth that thou desirest to see quake, or only a portion thereof?" "Of these, lord! which is the most miraculous?" "Why, Mahárája! in a metal dish filled with water, which would be the most miraculous, to make the whole or half the water, quake?" "Lord! the half." "In the same manner, Mahárája! it is most difficult to make only a portion of the earth quake." "Such being the case, lord! I will witness the quaking of a portion only of the earth." "For that purpose, Mahárája! within a line of demarkation, in circumference one yojano, on the eastern side, let a chariot be placed, with one of its "wheels resting within the line. On the southern side, let a horse stand, with two of his legs resting within the line: on the western side, let a man stand with one foot resting within the line: on the northern side, let a vessel filled with water be placed, the half of it projecting beyond the line of demarkation."

The rája caused arrangements to be made accordingly.

The théro having been absorbed in the fourth *jhānoñ*, in which is comprehended the half of the *abhinná*, rising therefrom, vouchsafed thus to resolve: "Let a quaking of the earth, extending over an yojana in space, be visible to the rája." On the eastern side, the wheel of the chariot resting within the line only, shook; the other did not shake. In the same manner, in the southern and the western sides, the feet of the horse, and the foot of the man, together

* It is not possible, in a literal translation, to convey *implied* significations. The dedication of a youth to be brought up a disciple in the priesthood is considered an offering. The circumstance of the rája in this instance seeking religious instruction, as a *disciple* would, is considered to place him also in the light of an offering; and hence the *grasping* his arm, is *the acceptance of an offering*.

with that moiety of their body resting within the line, shook. On the northern side, the half of the vessel also together with the portion of water (appertaining to that moiety) which rested within that circle, shook; the rest stood undisturbed.

The rája witnessing this miracle, and being thoroughly convinced then, that the théro was endowed with the power of saving the religion, thus submitted his own doubts for solution. "Lord! I sent a minister to the wiháro, saying, "Adjusting the (adhikarnán) matter in dispute, cause the *Upósatha* to be performed. He repairing to the wiháro, deprived so many bhikkhus of life: on whom does the sin fall?"

"Why, Mahárája! was it thy intention, that he, repairing to the wiháro, should slaughter the bhikkhus?"

"No, Lord!"

"Then, Mahárája! as thy intention was not such, the sin is not thine;" and thereupon for the purpose of demonstrating his reason, he explained himself by the following *suttán*, commencing with these words (of Buddha) "Bhikkhus! I am explaining that which constitutes an act *with intent*. An act *with intent* can only be committed by (the instrumentality of a member of) the body, by (means of) utterance, or by (the wilful design of) the mind." For the purpose of illustrating this subject, he discoursed thus from the * *Titira Játakán*. "Mahárája, in a former time (in a former existence) in a certain country, a snipe thus inquired of a devotee. 'Many (snipes) flock to me, saying, 'our relation dwells here, and calamity befalls them (in consequence of that visit to me by being ensnared by the fowler). My mind is disturbed by painful doubts (as to whether the sin of that calamity rests on me).'

"The devotee replied, 'Was this thy intention; viz. enticing these (birds) either by the sound of my voice, or the attractive display of my person, let them be ensnared and destroyed.'

"'No, Lord!' rejoined the snipe.

"The devotee then thus summed up the matter.

"'If thou hadst no premeditated design, unto thee there is no sin. The act affects only the wilful, not the undesigning, agent: for it is thus said: "If the mind be not influence by malicious intent, the act committed will not affect the agent, nor will the taint of sin attach itself to the virtuous, who do not wilfully devote themselves (to sinful practices.)'"

The théro having thus exemplified the matter to the rája, continuing to dwell for some days there, in the royal pleasure garden, instructed the monarch in the doctrines (of-BUDDHO).

On the seventh day, the rája having assembled the priests at the *Asókárámo* wiháro, and having formed a partition with a curtain, and taken his seat (with *MOGGALIPUTTATISSO*) within that curtain, dividing the bhikkhus professing different faiths, into separate sections, and calling up each sect separately, thus interrogated them. "What faith did BUDDHO profess? Thereupon the professors of the *Sussata* faith, replied "The *Sussata* faith," and so did the *Ekachchassatíka*, the *Antanantika*, the *Amaráchikkhápika*, the *Asauiwáda*, the *Néwasani-násaniwáda*, the *Uchohédawáda*, and *Diññhedhammanibbánawáda*.

* The incarnation of BUDDHO in the form of a snipe, being one of his 550 incarnations. This parable is founded on the belief that snipes migrate in flocks, and that each flock has its peculiar chirp or call.

The rāja having previously been instructed in the doctrines (of the orthodox faith) readily distinguished that these were not bhikkhus, but heretics. Supplying them with white dresses, to be substituted for their sacerdotal yellow robes, he expelled them: the whole of them amounted to sixty thousand.

Then sending for the other priests, he thus questioned them.

“Lords! what faith did the supreme BUDDHO reveal?”

“Mahárāja! the **Wibhajja* faith?”

On receiving this answer, addressing himself to the théro, he asked: “Lord! was the supreme BUDDHO himself of the *Wibhajja* faith?”

Being answered in the affirmative, the rāja then saying “Lord! the religion is now purified: let the priesthood now perform the *Upasatha*,” and conferring on them the royal protection, re-entered the capital.

The priesthood assembling together performed the *Upasatha*. The number of bhikkhus who assembled there was sixty lakhs. The théro MOGGALIPUTTASSO, suppressing in that community the professions of the creeds of other sects, propounded to them the *Kathāwathuppākaran*. And then selecting, and setting apart, from among the sixty lakhs of bhikkhus, one thousand bhikkhus, from amongst those who were the sustainers of the text of the three *Pitākani*, who had overcome the dominion of sin which is to be subdued, and who were masters of the mysteries of three *Wija*,—in whatever manner MAHAKASSAPO and YASSO théro had held their convocations, on *Dhammo* and *Winayo*, precisely in the same manner, holding a CONVOCATION, and purifying the whole *Sāsanan* from all impurity, he performed the THIRD CONVOCATION. At the close of the CONVOCATION, the earth quaked in various ways.

This CONVOCATION was brought to a close in nine months. It is also called the “SAHASIKA” because the CONVOCATION was composed of a (*sáhāsa*) thousand bhikkhus, and on account of two having preceded it, also the (*Tatiya*) THIRD CONVOCATION.

II.—*Note on the Geography of Cochin China, by the Right Rev. JEAN LOUIS, Bishop of Isauropolis, Vic. Apost. of Cochin China. Hon. Mem. As. Soc.*

[Translated from a memoir kindly communicated by the author †.]

Speaking of the geography of *Cochin China*, M. MALTE' BRUN, whose works on this subject are in many respects highly valuable, has not feared to advance that our knowledge of this country has become more obscure the more it has been handled by successive writers, who contradict one another. In spite of the respect due to an author of MALTE' BRUN's celebrity, (who nevertheless is, I believe, only a fireside geographist,—or, which is the same thing, a traveller

* Signifies “investigated,” also “verified.”

† We must apologize to the author for presenting his contribution in English, a work of no small trouble by the way to an Editor, but the difficulty of printing in French would have much retarded the journal.—ED.